

## Message Text

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TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE  
INFO AMEMBASSY ANKARA  
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AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS  
AMEMBASSY COPENHAGEN  
AMEMBASSY LISBON  
AMEMBASSY LONDON  
AMEMBASSY LUXEMBOURG  
AMEMBASSY OSLO  
AMEMBASSY OTTAWA  
AMEMBASSY PARIS  
AMEMBASSY REYKJAVIK  
AMEMBASSY ROME  
AMEMBASSY THE HAGUE  
USMISSION NATO

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 4 SECTO 4032

E.O. 11652: XGDS-1  
TAGS: PFOR, NATO  
SUBJECT: AFTERNOON SESSION OF MAY 10 NATO SUMMIT

SUMMARY: THE AFTERNOON SESSION SAW STATEMENTS BY  
LEADERS FROM DENMARK, UK, FRANCE, GREECE, NETHERLANDS,  
TURKEY, BELGIUM, ICELAND, LUXEMBOURG, AND SUMMING UP  
BY LUNS. ALL INDICATED GENERAL SUPPORT FOR PRESIDENT'S  
PROPOSALS. PRIME MINISTER CALLAGHAN OBSERVED IT IS  
IMPORTANT FOR NATIONS, PARTICULARLY THE UK, TO DEFINE  
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THEIR OWN NATIONAL LEVELS OF FORCES AND HE EMPHASIZED  
THAT OTHERS CANNOT IMPOSE THOSE LEVELS ON THE UK.  
FOREIGN MINISTER DE GUIRINGAUD STRESSED DE GAULLE HAD  
LAID THE FOUNDATION STONE OF FRENCH FOREIGN POLICY.  
PRIME MINISTER DEMIREL SAID THAT WHILE TURKEY HAD  
ALWAYS BEEN LOYAL MEMBER OF THE ALLIANCE, THOSE AROUND  
THE TABLE HAD TO CONTRIBUTE TO THE MAINTENANCE OF THE

WILLINGNESS OF THE TURKISH PEOPLE TO WORK FOR NATO.  
END SUMMARY.

1. BEGINNING THE AFTERNOON SESSION, PRIME MINISTER JORGENSEN OF DENMARK EMPHASIZED THAT THE ALLIANCE IS A CORNERSTONE IN THE DEFENSE OF OUR FREEDOM AND A VITAL INSTRUMENT FOR WORLD STABILITY. HE WELCOMED PRESIDENT CARTER'S PROPOSALS FOR STRENGTHENING ATLANTIC POLITICAL CONSULATION. HE SAID THAT DEFENSE AND DETENTE HAVE TAKEN DEEP ROOTS IN WESTERN SOCIETIES AND THAT OUR DEFENSE EFFORTS WOULD BE MISUNDERSTOOD UNLESS THEY ARE COMBINED WITH EFFORTS TOWARDS DETENTE. WITH REGARD TO BELGRADE, HE SAID WE MUST MAKE AN HONEST ASSESSMENT OF WHERE WE STAND IN RELATION TO THE GOALS IN THE FINAL ACT. HE BELIEVED THAT DETENTE ALREADY HAS HAD SOME IMPACT ON COMMUNIST SOCIETIES AND THAT THE PROMOTION OF HUMAN RIGHTS HAS A BETTER CHANCE UNDER DETENTE.

2. ON THE MILITARY SIDE OF THE EQUATION, JORGENSEN EMPHASIZED THAT WE CANNOT IGNORE THE IMPLICATIONS OF THE BUILD-UP OF EASTERN MILITARY FORCES. A MILITARY IMBALANCE WOULD NOT ONLY WEAKEN OUR ABILITY TO DEFEND OURSELVES, BUT WOULD ALSO BE HARMFUL TO THE PURSUIT OF DETENT AND DISARMAMENT. NATO AT ANY GIVEN TIME MUST BE ABLE TO MATCH THE OTHER SIDE SUFFICIENTLY. JORGENSEN SUMMED UP HIS SPEECH BY SAYING THAT HE WISHED TO STRESS: A) ADHERENCE TO COMMON DEMOCRATIC PRINCIPLES; B) FULL PUBLIC UNDERSTANDING AND SUPPORT FOR THE ALLIANCE; C) ALLIANCE SOLIDARITY, ECONOMIC AS WELL AS POLITICAL; D) CONFIDENTIAL

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FURTHER DEVELOPMENT OF HEALTHY SOCIAL STRUCTURES; AND E) UNDERSTANDING AND SOLIDARITY WITH THE THIRD WORLD.

3. PRIME MINISTER CALLAGHAN BEGAN BY SAYING THAT HE HAD A FORMAL SPEECH WHICH HE WOULD PUT INTO THE RECORD. HE INTENDED NOW TO MAKE SOME REMARKS. HE HAD BEEN LISTENING TO THE SPEECHES THUS FAR AND DEDUCED CONSIDERABLE AGREEMENT AMONGST THE SPEAKERS WITH PRESIDENT CARTER'S DEFINITIVE STATEMENT OF THE MORNING. CALLAGHAN FELT THAT THERE WAS NO NEED TO GO INTO PRESIDENT CARTER'S LIST OF ITEMS AND TO SAY THAT HE AGREES WITH EACH ONE. RATHER, HE WOULD LIKE TO SAY A WORD TO HIS MILITARY COLLEAGUES. IT IS IMPORTANT NOT TO GET WALLED IN BY DEBATE CONCERNING MILITARY EXPENDITURES AND MILITARY STRENGTHS. THE MILITARY HAVE THE RESPONSIBILITY TO ADVISE THAT WE SHOULD BE STRONGER. CALLAGHAN AGREED FULLY WITH THIS. IT IS MUCH EASIER TO MAKE POINTS ABOUT THE NEED FOR STRENGTH AND MILITARY PREPAREDNESS, BUT IT IS VERY DIFFICULT TO GET THE NECESSARY BUDGETS PASSED THROUGH

PARLIAMENTS BACK HOME. CALLAGHAN SAID THAT WE MUST MOVE TOWARD GREATER EFFICIENCY IN USE OF MILITARY RESOURCES AND WE HAVE GOT TO PRESS HARD IN ORDER TO GET IT.

4. HE AGREED WITH CHANCELLOR SCHMIDT'S POINTS CONCERNING MBFR. CALLAGHAN OBSERVED THAT WE HAVE MOVED INTO A PHASE OF STRATEGIC PARITY AND STRATEGIC PARITY MUST IMPLY A NEED FOR CONVENTIONAL PARITY. CALLAGHAN FELT THAT IT IS IMPORTANT FOR NATIONS, PARTICULARLY THE UK, TO DEFINE THEIR OWN NATIONAL LEVELS OF FORCES AND HE EMPHASIZED THAT OTHERS CANNOT IMPOSE THESE LEVELS ON THE UK. ON HELSINKI CALLAGHAN ALSO AGREED WITH SCHMIDT THAT WE HAVE MADE SUBSTANTIAL GAINS AND THE SOVIET INTEREST IN DETENTE MUST BE PROBED. WE MUST ALL WORK TO TRY AND GET REDUCTIONS IN THE LEVEL OF ARMED FORCES BUT THE UK DOES NOT WANT TO REDUCE TO A LEVEL BELOW WHAT IT SHOULD BE. THE UK FIELDS SUBSTANTIAL FORCES AS IT IS.  
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5. ON STRATEGIC ARMS LIMITATIONS, CALLAGHAN SAID HE WAS HAPPY WITH PRESIDENT CARTER'S ANALYSIS. BUT HE ADDED HE WAS NOT HAPPY WITH THE GROWING THREAT IN THEATER NUCLEAR FORCES POSED BY THE SOVIET UNION, PARTICULARLY AS SOVIET CAPABILITIES ARE CONTINUALLY BEING STRENGTHENED. HE THOUGHT THAT THE SOVIET UNION ITSELF MUST ALSO BE CONCERNED WITH THE HEAVY DEMANDS BEING PLACED ON ITS RESOURCES BY DEFENSE. CALLAGHAN OBSERVED THAT THE SOVIET UNION IS NOT IMMUNE FROM SIMILAR FORCES AND PRESSURES IN THIS AREA. CONCERNING PRESIDENT CARTER'S RECENT INITIATIVE IN MOSCOW, CALLAGHAN SAID HE WAS NOT DESPONDENT ABOUT THE APPARENT FAILURE AS HE WAS CONVINCED THAT QUIET DIPLOMACY HAD BEEN SET IN HAND BY PRESIDENT CARTER. CALLAGHAN CONTINUED THAT THE UK IS READY TO JOIN IN THE LONG-RANGE STUDY WHICH IS BEING PROPOSED AND THE UK IS ALSO READY TO EXPLORE RESTRICTIONS ON WEAPONS SALES. CALLAGHAN CONCLUDED THAT NATO HAS SERVED THE WEST WELL FOR THIRTY YEARS AND IN SERVING US WELL IT MUST CONTINUE TO ADAPT ITSELF.

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6. FRENCH FOREIGN MINISTER DE GUIRINGAUD BEGAN BY EMPHASIZING FRANCE'S FIDELITY TO THE ALLIANCE. FRANCE WILL GIVE THE ALLIANCE COOPERATION WHILE MAINTAINING FUNDAMENTAL OPTIONS. ONE OF THESE IS THE INALIENABLE INDEPENDENCE OF RANCE'S NUCLEAR CAPACITY AND FRANCE'S FREEDOM TO COMMIT ITS FORCES. IT IS FRANCE'S INTENTION TO CONTINUE TO CONSULT WITH ITS ALLIES IN AREAS OF ALLIANCE COMPETENCE. ADDRESSING DETENTE AND CONSULTATION, HE SAID THAT WE SHOULD NOT FORM OBSTRUCTIONS CONCERNING APPROACHES TO THE EAST. DETENTE IS NOT A CONFIDENTIAL

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PROCESSSS BETWEEN DOGS BUT BETWEEN STATES. DE GUIRINGAUD CONTINUED THAT FRANCE PURSUES A POLICY OF REALISM. DE GAULLE LAID ITS FOUNDATION STONE. IT MEANT DIFFICULTIES BUT FRANCE WILL PURSUE FRENCH POLICY. THE WESTERN COUNTRIES, LIKE THE COMMUNIST COUNTRIES, HAVE A COMMON INTEREST IN PURSUING DETENTE. ALSO POLITICAL DIALOGUE WITH THE SOVIET UNION IS VERY IMPORTANT. DE GUIRINGAUD SAID HE SHARED US CONCERN FOR HUMAN RIGHTS, NOTING THAT THE PURSUIT OF THESE RIGHTS HAVE GUIDED POLITICAL ACTION IN FRANCE FOR 200 YEARS.

7. DE GUIRINGAUD RECALLED THAT THE UK, FRANCE, THE FRG AND BRITAIN ON THE PRECEDING DAY HAD REAFFIRMED THAT DETENTE PRESUPPOSES SOVIET RESPECT FOR EXISTING AGREEMENTS REGARDING BERLIN. THERE MUST NOT BE UNILATERAL ATTEMPTS TO CHANGE THE EXISTING SITUATION. BY THE SAME TOKEN, DETENTE WOULD HAVE NO MEANING IF ACCOMPANIED BY DESTABILIZING SOVIET ACTIVITIES OUTSIDE EUROPE. DETENTE, DE GUIRINGAUD SAID, DEPENDED HEAVILY ON RELATIONS BETWEEN THE US AND THE USSR. IMPROVEMENT IN RELATIONS BETWEEN THESE TWO STATES WAS OF BENEFIT TO THE ALLIANCE AS A WHOLE PROVIDED FACTORS OF PARTICULAR IMPORTANCE TO THE EUROPEAN GOVERNMENTS WERE TAKEN INTO CONSIDERATION. SUCH FACTORS INCLUDED THE NEED TO MAINTAIN THE STRATEGIC EQUILIBRIUM AND THE REGIONAL EQUILIBRIUM IN EUROPE. IN THIS CONNECTION FRANCE APPROVED U.S. EFFORTS IN SALT AND UNDERSTOOD AMERICAN PREOCCUPATIONS. FRANCE, HOWEVER, HAD DOUBTS ABOUT THE PRINCIPLES AND METHODS OF PURSUING MBFR. ANOTHER US-SOVIET NEGOTIATION OF CONCERN TO FRANCE WAS THAT CONCERNING INTERDICTION OF NUCLEAR TESTING. FRANCE DID NOT WISH TO TAKE A POSITION ON A US-SOVIET AGREEMENT. AT THE SAME TIME, THE VITAL NECESSITIES OF FRANCE'S DEFENSE WOULD PREVENT IT FROM JOINING SUCH AN AGREEMENT.

8. TURNING TO THE ISSUE OF ARMS STANDARDIZATION, DE  
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GUIRINGAUD SAID THAT INDEPENDENCE FOR FRANCE WAS NOT SYNONYMOUS WITH ISOLATION. FRANCE WAS WILLING TO PARTICIPATE IN COOPERATION IN THE FIELD OF ARMS PRODUCTION WITH ITS ALLIES. GIVEN THE PRESENT IMBALANCE IN US-EUROPEAN TRADE IN THIS FIELD AND THE NEED TO ESTABLISH A REAL EQUILIBRIUM, FRANCE FELT THAT SUCH COOPERATION SHOULD INITIALLY PROCEED AMONG THE EUROPEANS. THIS WAS THE PURPOSE OF THE INDEPENDENT EUROPEAN PROGRAM GROUP. INDEPENDENT IN THIS CONNECTION MEANT "TOTALLY DISTINCT FROM EXISTING STRUCTURES." AT THE SAME TIME, FRANCE HOPED THAT, WITHIN THE ALLIANCE, EFFORTS WOULD GO FORWARD TOWARD THE MORE RATIONAL USE OF ALLIANCE CAPACITY. DE GUIRINGAUD CONCLUDED BY NOTING THAT THE ALLIES HAD SUCCEEDED IN CONFRONTING THE PROBLEMS THEY HAD FACED OVER THE LAST THIRTY YEARS AS A RESULT OF THE HABITS OF COOPERATION THEY HAD BUILT UP AND THE CONVICTION THAT THEY SHARED COMMON DEMOCRATIC VALUES. THE ALLIANCE HAD BEEN A BULWARK OF THAT CONVICTION.

9. GREEK PRIME MINISTER CARAMANLIS OPENED BY RECALLING THAT AT THE LAST NATO SUMMIT MEETING THE ALLIES HAD DISCUSSED A NUMBER OF PROBLEMS THEN FACING THEM. SINCE

THEN HE FELT THAT, IF THE ALLIANCE HAD NOT LOST GROUND, NEITHER HAD IT GAINED ANY. THE ALLIANCE HAD LOST SOLIDARITY. IT WAS SUFFERING FROM AN ABUSE OF FREEDOM. PEOPLE PREFERRED THE PURSUIT OF PLEASURE TO MAKING NECESSARY CONTRIBUTIONS TO THEIR DEFENSE. IN CONSEQUENCE THE BALANCE OF FORCES WAS CHANGING TO THE ALLIANCE'S DISADVANTAGE. THE PROBLEM WAS ONE OF POLITICAL AND MORAL CRISIS OF SOCIETY. SOLIDARITY, HOWEVER, COULD BE FOUND, CARAMANLIS BELIEVED, IF THE BEST USE WERE MADE OF THE POSSIBILITIES OFFERED BY THE ALLIANCE. THE GROWTH OF EUROPEAN UNITY COULD STRENGTHEN THE ATLANTIC FAMILY. THE GROWTH OF DEMOCRATIC INSTITUTIONS WILL INCREASE THE MORAL STRENGTH OF THE ALLIANCE.

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10. CARAMANLIS NOTED THAT THIS MIGHT SEEM STRANGE COMING FROM A COUNTRY WITH A SPECIAL RELATIONSHIP WITH THE ALLIANCE. BUT GREECE BELIEVES IN THE ALLIANCE. THE PROOF IS THAT GREECE HAS DECLARED THAT IT WILL RETURN TO NATO WHEN THE FACTORS WHICH CREATED THE PRESENT SITUATION ARE ALLEVIATED AND THAT IN THE MEANTIME GREECE COULD BE RELIED UPON TO SUPPORT ITS ALLIES IN CASE OF WAR. NO ONE, CARAMANLIS SAID, WANTED A RETURN TO THE COLD WAR. ON THE OTHER HAND, DETENTE WAS NOT NECESSARILY A PERMANENT SITUATION. IT WAS QUITE FRAGILE. THE CSCE CONFERENCE IN BELGRADE MIGHT SORELY TRY DETENTE. ISSUES, AND PARTICULARLY THOSE OF HUMAN RIGHTS, WOULD HAVE TO BE PURSUED SKILLFULLY. IF THE EASTERN EUROPEANS WERE PERSUADED THAT THEY COULD HAVE DETENTE ONLY AT THE COST OF WEAKENING THEIR REGIMES, THEY WOULD REJECT DETENTE. HE NOTED THAT THERE WERE INSTANCES AMONG THE ALLIES IN WHICH THE CSCE FINAL ACT HAD BEEN BROKEN. HE RECALLED THAT PRESIDENT CARTER HAD IN HIS STATEMENT REFERRED TO DIFFERENCES BETWEEN TURKEY AND GREECE. HE PROMISED THAT GREECE WOULD CONTINUE TO MAKE EVERY EFFORT FOR A SETTLEMENT.

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11. DUTCH PRIME MINISTER DEN UYL SAID HE SAW A CLEAR LINK BETWEEN THE PROBLEMS DISCUSSED AT THE NATO SUMMIT AND AT THE PRECEDING ECONOMIC SUMMIT. NATO'S INNER STRENGTH WAS DEPENDENT UPON THE SUCCESSFUL RESOLUTION OF THE ECONOMIC CRISIS AFFLICTING THE WESTERN WORLD. THIS WAS ALL THE MORE REASON TO GIVE IMPETUS TO RATIONALIZATION OF ALLIED DEFENSE EFFORTS. UNEMPLOYMENT WAS EXERTING A REAL PRESSURE ON WESTERN SOCIETY AND ECONOMIC STRUCTURES, AND HAD TO BE REDUCED. DEN UYL NOTED THE IMPORTANCE OF THE ALLIANCE COPING WITH THE CONFIDENTIAL

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PROBLEMS POSED BY THE SHORTAGES OF ENERGY AND RAW MATERIALS. HE SUPPORTED THE MANNER IN WHICH PRESIDENT CARTER HAD TREATED THIS SUBJECT. HE RECALLED THE FRUSTRATION OF THE NORTH-SOUTH DIALOGUE BUT FELT THAT A SATISFACTORY OUTCOME WAS OF THE UTMOST IMPORTANCE.

12. HE RECALLED THAT ALL NATO COUNTRIES NOW HAD DEMOCRATICALLY ELECTED GOVERNMENTS AND FELT IT IMPORTANT THAT THEY SHOW BY THEIR ACTS A WILLINGNESS TO DEFEND HUMAN RIGHTS WHEREVER THEY WERE VIOLATED. HE SAID HIS COUNTRY VALUED HIGHLY NATO'S FUNCTION AS A POLITICAL CONSULTATIVE BODY AND SUPPORTED PRESIDENT CARTER'S WISH

TO EXPAND CONSULTATIONS WITHIN THE ORGANIZATION. SPECIFICALLY, HE SUPPORTED THE IDEA OF ANALYZING WHAT CAN BE EXPECTED OF THE USSR AND CALLED UPON NATO DELEGATIONS TO DEVISE A PROCEDURE WHICH COMBINED THE EFFORTS OF GOVERNMENTS, THE SECRETARIAT AND OUTSIDE EXPERTS. HE DID NOT FEEL THERE WAS ANY INCONSISTENCY BETWEEN CONSULTATIONS IN NATO AND THE EC NINE AND WAS HAPPY THAT PRESIDENT CARTER HAD SUPPORTED THE UNIFICATION OF EUROPE. DEN UYL EMPHASIZED THE IMPORTANCE OF KEEPING ALIVE THE CSCE DIALOGUE AND THE FINAL ACT EVEN IF THE EFFORT PROVES A CONSIDERABLE ONE. HE WONDERED WHETHER RESULTS FROM MBFR NEED AWAIT THE CONCLUSION OF SALT II.

13. TURNING TO THE ALLIANCE DEFENSE POSTURE, HE ASSURED HIS COLLEAGUES THAT THE NETHERLANDS WOULD WORK TO LIVE UP TO ITS COMMITMENTS TO NATO. NATO COULD ONLY OVERCOME THE PRESSURES ON DEFENSE BUDGETS BY AN INTEGRATED PROGRAM TOWARD RATIONALIZATION. HE ENDORSED PRESIDENT CARTER'S REMARKS ON THE IMPORTANCE OF A MORE BALANCED US-EUROPEAN FLOW OF DEFENSE EQUIPMENT. HE STRESSED THE INDIVISIBILITY OF DETENTE WHICH APPLIED NOT ONLY TO AFRICA BUT TO THE MIDDLE EAST. FOREIGN INTERVENTION IN ANY PART OF THE GLOBE WOULD HAVE AN ADVERSE EFFECT ON EAST-WEST RELATIONS. IN CONCLUDING, CONFIDENTIAL

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DEN UYL NOTED THAT THE NETHERLANDS HAD INTENDED TO INVITE NATO TO HOLD ITS NEXT SPRING MINISTERIAL AT THE HAGUE. HE HAD TAKEN NOTE OF PRESIDENT CARTER'S KIND INVITATION, HOWEVER, AND WAS SURE THAT ALL OF THEM WOULD BE VERY PLEASED TO VISIT THE US AFTER 450 DAYS OF PRESIDENT CARTER'S PRESIDENCY. HE FURTHER LOOKED FORWARD TO WELCOMING THE NATO MINISTERS TO THE HAGUE IN 1979. PRESIDENT CARTER EXPRESSED HIS GRATITUDE FOR PRIME MINISTER DEN UYL AND HIS GOVERNMENT'S WILLINGNESS TO WELCOME THE US INVITATION.

14. PRIME MINISTER DEMIREL SAID THAT THE CONTRIBUTIONS TO DETENTE VARIED FROM COUNTRY TO COUNTRY. THE WEST, WITHOUT INTERFERING IN THE INTERNAL AFFAIRS OF OTHERS, SHOULD STAND UP FOR ITS OWN WAY OF LIFE. TURKEY'S GEOGRAPHIC POSITION DICTATED THE NEED FOR FIRMNESS AGAINST MILITARY THREAT AND COMMUNIST IDEOLOGY, BUT TURKEY ALSO SOUGHT A RELAXATION OF TENSIONS AND GOOD RELATIONS WITH ITS NEIGHBORS, INCLUDING EASTERN EUROPE. THIS POLICY CONTRIBUTED TO REGIONAL STABILITY. WITH REFERENCE TO DISPUTES WITH NEIGHBORING COUNTRIES, TURKISH POLICY REMAINED TO STRIVE FOR LASTING AND EQUITABLE SOLUTIONS THROUGH NEGOTIATIONS. PRESSURE ON THE PART OF THIRD PARTIES IN THE COURSE OF THESE NEGO-



TIATIONS WOULD ONLY CREATE DIFFICULTIES. THE EFFEC-  
TIVENESS OF THE ALLIANCE HAD BEEN SERIOUSLY IMPARED BY  
THE INTRODUCTION OF IRRELEVANT ISSUES INTO NATO MATTERS.

15. DEMIREL ENDORSED THE PROPOSITION THAT DETENTE  
NEEDED DEFENSE. HE WAS REASSURED TO HEAR PRESIDENT  
CARTER GIVE A CONCRETE RECOMMITMENT TO THE ALLIANCE AND  
EUROPE. LONG-TERM DEFENSE PLANNING IS NECESSARY, HE  
SAID, ESPECIALLY FOR COUNTRIES LIKE TURKEY WITH ITS  
LIMITED FINANCIAL RESOURCES. SPEAKING FRANKLY, HE  
INSISTED THAT TURKEY HAD ALWAYS BEEN A RELIABLE NATO  
MEMBER. BUT ITS DEFENSE POSTURE DEPENDS ON THE PROCURE-  
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MENT OF WEAPONS FROM ITS ALLIES, ESPECIALLY THE UNITED  
STATES. THEREFORE, PARTICIPATION IN LONG-TERM PLANNING  
WOULD NOT BE MEANINGFUL FOR TURKEY IF US RESTRICTIONS  
ON MILITARY AID AND ARMS SALES WERE NOT REMOVED. THE  
BEST WAY TO ACHIEVE HARMONIOUS DEFENSE COOPERATION WITH  
THE US WOULD BE THE EARLY RATIFICATION OF THE DCA. ITS  
ENTRY INTO FORCE WOULD BE A MAJOR STEP IN STRENGTHENING  
ALLIANCE COHESION AND THE SOUTHEASTERN FLANK. DEMIREL  
CONCLUDED THAT TURKISH GOVERNMENTS HAD ALWAYS DEFENDED  
TURKEY'S ATTACHMENT TO AND MEMBERSHIP IN THE ALLIANCE  
AND HOPED TO DO SO IN THE FUTURE. BUT HE FELT DUTY  
BOUND TO STATE THAT THE LEADERS AROUND THE TABLE HAD TO  
CONTRIBUTE TO THE MAINTENANCE OF THE FEELINGS ON THE  
PART OF THE TURKISH PEOPLE TO WORK FOR NATO.

16. PRIME MINISTER TINDEMANS OF BELGIUM SAID HE WAS  
PLEASED WITH THE REAFFIRMATION OF THE US COMMITMENT TO  
THE ALLIANCE. HE ALSO WELCOMED PRESIDENT CARTER'S  
SUPPORT FOR EUROPEAN UNION. CREATION OF A EUROPE ABLE  
TO SPEAK WITH ONE VOICE WOULD MAKE A POWERFUL CONTRIBU-  
TION TOWARDS ALLIANCE COHESION AND CREDIBILITY.  
TINDEMANS WAS ENCOURAGED BY RESULTS OF EC POLITICAL  
COOPERATION, ESPECIALLY IN CSCE. HE CONTINUED THAT  
ALLIANCE SOLIDARITY WAS NEEDED NOW MORE THAN EVER. IT  
WAS NOT REALISTIC TO CONSIDER A DEFENSE OF EUROPE  
OUTSIDE A CREDIBLE ATLANTIC DEFENSE. AT A TIME OF  
NUCLEAR STRATEGIC PARITY, MAINTENANCE OF REGIONAL  
EQUILIBRIUM WAS ALSO MORE ESSENTIAL THAN EVER. HE  
INDICATED BELGIUM WAS PREPARED TO STUDY THE DEFENSE  
PROBLEMS OF THE NEXT DECADE. TINDEMANS AGREED THAT  
ARMAMENTS COOPERATION WAS IMPORTANT. IT IS TIME FOR  
CONCRETE STEPS AND THE IEPG HAD ALREADY TAKEN ONE.  
AUTONOMOUS INDUSTRIAL BASIS HAD TO BE PRESERVED AND  
DEVELOPED IN EUROPE.

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17. ICELANDIC FOREIGN MINISTER AGUSTSSON SAID THAT ICELAND HAD BEEN A STEADFAST MEMBER OF THE ALLIANCE FROM THE VERY BEGINNING. ALLUDING TO DISPUTES IT HAD HAD WITH NATO ALLIES, HE INSISTED THAT NATO REMAINED MORE THAN EVER THE CORNERSTONE OF ICELAND'S FOREIGN POLICY. THE FOREIGN MINISTER WELCOMED PRESIDENT CARTER'S IDEAS AND SAID THAT HIS SPECIFIC PROPOSALS WOULD RECEIVE THE CLOSE ATTENTION THEY DESERVE. HIS GOVERNMENT, HE SAID, WAS INTENSELY INTERESTED IN A STUDY ON THE FUTURE OF  
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EAST-WEST RELATIONS AND HOPED IT MIGHT BE COMPLETED REASONABLE QUICKLY. HE CAUTIONED THE ALLIANCE TO

CONSIDER CAREFULLY THE IMPACT OF MAKING THE RESULTS OF THIS STUDY PUBLIC. HE SAID THAT THE FORTHCOMING BELGRADE CONFERENCE OFFERED A MAJOR OCCASION NOT TO BE MISSED FOR THE ASSESSMENT OF SOVIET PERFORMANCE. BUT WE MUST AVOID SENSATIONAL CRITICISM. WE MUST KEEP CLEAR OF DIRECT CONFRONTATION, LAY THE FOUNDATIONS OF MUTUAL CONFIDENCE, PROMOTE PRACTICAL PROGRESS IN ALL FIELDS, NOT LEAST HUMAN RIGHTS. AGUSTSSON CLOSED WITH A REAFFIRMATION OF ICELAND'S ORGANIC PARTICIPATION IN NATO AND AN EXPRESSION OF THE NEED FOR PEACE TO BE KEPT IN ALL PARTS OF THE GLOBE.

18. PRIME MINISTER THORN OF LUXEMBOURG ECHOED THE PLEASURE OF OTHERS BEFORE HIM THAT THE FIFTEEN COUNTRIES ASSEMBLED AT THE MEETING WERE NOW ALL DEMOCRACIES. THIS STRENGTHENED THE ALLIANCE AND GAVE IT A UNITY OF VISION. THORN SAID ONE MAJOR TASK WAS TO EXPLAIN TO THE YOUNG GENERATION THE RELEVANCE OF THE ALLIANCE TODAY. THORN ALSO SAID THAT IF DETENTE IS INDIVISIBLE, SO THE ALLIANCE TOO IS INDIVISIBLE. COMMON VALUES HAVE TO BE DEFENDED. HE AGREED WITH CHANCELLOR SCHMIDT THAT WE MUSTN'T OVER-DRAMATIZE. WE MUST TRUST OUR POPULATIONS. WE MUST TELL THEM REALISTICALLY WHAT OUR SITUATION IS. WE MUST NOT LOSE CREDIBILITY WITH THEM.

19. IN SUMMARIZING THE DAY'S PROCEEDINGS, LUNS PRAISED THE PRESIDENT'S ADDRESS WHICH GAVE A HEARTENING INDICATION OF THE STRONG AMERICAN INTEREST IN THE ALLIANCE. NOTING THAT OTHER ALLIED LEADERS HAD RESPONDED POSITIVELY TO THE PRESIDENT'S PROPOSALS, LUNS ALSO DREW ATTENTION TO CALLAGHAN'S OBSERVATION THAT THERE MAY BE DIFFERENT NUANCES IN THE VIEWS OF SOME ALLIES ON IMPLEMENTATION. LUNS NOTED SEVERAL COMMON ELEMENTS THAT STAND OUT FROM THE DAY'S DISCUSSIONS: 1) GENERAL SATIS-

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FACTION WITH NATO'S ACCOMPLISHMENTS TO DATE; 2) ALLIED RESOLVE TO PERFORM EVEN BETTER IN THE FUTURE AND TO THAT END TO TAKE A FRESH LOOK AT IMPORTANT ISSUES CONFRONTING NATO; 3) ALLIED WILLINGNESS TO SEARCH FOR COMMON SOLUTIONS. ON DEFENSE, LUNS EXPRESSED THE HOPE THAT ALLIED LEADERS WOULD INSTRUCT THEIR DEFENSE MINISTERS AT NEXT WEEK'S DPC TO FOLLOW-UP IN MORE DETAIL ON US PROPOSALS FOR REVITALIZING AND STRENGTHENING NATO'S FORCE PLANNING PROCEDURES, BOTH IN THE LONG AND SHORT-TERM, AND IN PARTICULAR FOR IMPROVING FOLLOW-THROUGH ACTION. HE ISSUED A WORD OF WARNING, HOWEVER, WITH RESPECT TO THE UTILITY OF REFORMING NATO'S PROCEDURES. AFTER TWENTY YEARS' EXPERIENCE, HE HAD CONCLUDED THAT ALLIANCE PROCEDURES ARE NOT BAD IF THE POLITICAL WILL

EXISTS TO USE THEM.

20. LUNS ALSO EMPHASIZED THE IMPORTANCE OF IMPROVING COOPERATION IN RESEARCH, DEVELOPMENT, PRODUCTION AND PROCUREMENT OF ALLIANCE DEFENSE EQUIPMENT, AS WELL AS OF INCREASING THE TRAFFIC IN THE TWO-WAY STREET. HE ALSO EMPHASIZED THE IMPORTANCE OF ALLOCATING MORE REAL RESOURCES TO DEFENSE, IN ADDITION TO IMPROVING THE EFFICIENCY WITH WHICH AVAILABLE RESOURCES ARE USED, IF THE ADVERSE TRENDS IN THE MILITARY BALANCE BETWEEN NATO AND WARSAW PACT ARE TO BE COUNTERED.

21. LUNS SAW NO CONFLICT BETWEEN IMPROVING ALLIANCE EFFORTS IN THE DEFENSE FIELD AND SIMULTANEOUSLY SEEKING REALISTIC MEASURES OF DISARMAMENT AND ARMS CONTROL. HE ALSO DISCERNED A GENERAL RESOLVE TO INCREASE PROGRESSIVELY THE LIMITED DEGREE OF EAST-WEST COOPERATION ALLIES HAVE ESTABLISHED TO DATE. FULL IMPLEMENTATION OF ALL PROVISIONS OF THE HELSINKI FINAL ACT IS AN ESSENTIAL FIRST STEP TO SUCH EXPANDED COOPERATION, WITH POSSIBLE DRAMATIC CONSEQUENCES FOR THE EVENTUAL OBTAINMENT OF FUNDAMENTAL FREEDOMS AND HUMAN RIGHTS IN

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EASTERN EUROPE.

22. LUNS EXPRESSED SATISFACTION FOR THE MODERATION SHOWN BY BOTH THE GREEK AND TURKISH PRIME MINISTERS WHICH HE THOUGH AUGERS WELL FOR A RESOLUTION OF THEIR DIFFICULTIES.

23. NOTING TWO INVITATIONS FOR THE NEXT SPRING NATO MEETING--FROM THE UNITED STATES AND THE NETHERLANDS--TRUDEAU SUGGESTED A TWO-DAY MEETING, WITH AN ACCENT ON INFORMALITY AND FEWER PARTICIPANTS FROM DELEGATIONS. LUNS WELCOMED THE SUGGESTION AND AGREED THAT THE INTERNATIONAL STAFF WOULD PREPARE AND INFORMAL MEETING.

24. FRENCH FOREIGN MINISTER SAID THE FRENCH DELEGATION APPRECIATED PRESIDENT CARTER'S PRESENCE WHICH WAS AN IMPORTANT SIGN OF US INTEREST IN NATO. HE NOTED THE INVITATION FOR A SUMMIT IN WASHINGTON ADDING THAT HE ASSUMED IT WOULD TAKE PLACE WITHIN THE COMPETENCE OF THE ALLIANCE.

25. IN RESPONDING TO TRUDEAU'S SUGGESTIONS, THE PRESIDENT SAID HE WOULD BE PLEASED TO HOST A SUMMIT IN WASHINGTON FOR TWO DAYS TO ANALYZE THE RESULTS OF THE PROPOSALS, IF THERE ARE FULL REPORTS ON DEFENSE IMPROVEMENTS, EAST-WEST RELATIONS AND DEFENSE PRODUC-

TION PROPOSALS. VANCE

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